# UNITY

FREEDOM FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918)

*Editors*

John Haynes Holmes  Francis Neilson

## Wanted: A Sane Man

*By* FRANK C. DOAN

## Some Thoughts on Debs

*By* JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

## The New Universalism

*By* WALTER WALSH

VOLUME LXXXVIII  NUMBER 17

Chicago, January 5, 1922

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# UNITY

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## *A Journal of the Religion of Democracy*

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES : *Editors* : FRANCIS NEILSON

UNITY Fellowship

FRANK C. DOAN
CHARLES F. DOLE
JESSE H. HOLMES
JOHN HAYNES HOLMES
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## *Contents*

EDITORIAL—

Notes ..... 259
Wanted: A Sane Man.—REV. FRANK C. DOAN 261
Some Thoughts on Debs.—JOHN HAYNES HOLMES ..... 263

ARTICLES—

The New Universalism.—*Rev. Walter Walsh*.. 264
The Situation in Macedonia..... 267
The Washington Conference and World Peace. —TARAKNATH DAS ..... 268
Praise from Sir Hubert.—*E. G. Hirsch*..... 269

POETRY—

A New Year's Hymn.—JOHN HAYNES HOLMES 259
The Master Joy.—*Friedlander*..... 263
The Vision Maker.—*Ralph Chaplin*..... 269

THE FIELD—

An Open Letter to the Friends and Supporters of the Union of Democratic Control in This and Other Lands (Continued).—E. D. MOREL in *Foreign Affairs* ..... 270

# UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

Vol. LXXXVIII. THURSDAY, JANUARY 5, 1922 Number 17

## A NEW YEAR'S HYMN

(Written for the Community Church of New York.)

Tune—Coronation

All hail, the pageant of the years
That endless come and go;
The brave procession of the spheres
In Time's resistless flow—
*Arise, and crown your days with good,*
*In glad, exultant brotherhood!*

Behind us fade the centuries
Of man at war with man;
The fierce and foul futilities
Of battling tribe and clan—
*Arise, and crown your days with good,*
*In glad, exultant brotherhood!*

Around us lies the heritage
Of clashing sword and shield;
The want and waste, the hate and rage
Of many a gloried field—
*Arise, and crown your days with good,*
*In glad, exultant brotherhood!*

Behold, there looms the mystery
Of love diviner far;
There speaks the steadfast prophecy
Of nations freed from war—
*Arise, and crown your days with good,*
*In glad, exultant brotherhood!*

The aeons come, the aeons go,
The stars nor pause nor cease;
On wings of silence, soft as snow,
Shall come the boon of peace.
*All hail, our days are crowned with good,*
*In glad, exultant brotherhood!*

John Haynes Holmes.

---

We are awaiting with more patience than hope the outcome of the Disarmament Conference. We have no great confidence that anything epoch-making is going to be done. Already, however, we find ourselves genuinely impressed with one thing that is right now here before our face and eyes—and that is the spectacle of one great nation asking permission of other great nations to have so many and such kinds of ships in its navy! Hitherto, if France, for example, wanted ten capital ships, she went ahead and built them, and let the rest of the world either like it or "lump" it, as they chose. Now France has to submit her program to an international council, present the arguments for it, appeal to justice and reason on its behalf, and then in the end withdraw her desires, in deference to the opinion against her. Of course, if France decided to leave the Conference, build her ships, and go it alone, she could do so. There is no power to prevent any madness which she might choose to precipitate upon humanity. But it is just this fact which makes so impressive what is now going on in Washington! It is true that there is no "power," in the ordinary sense of that word, to stop the independent action of any nation. But there *is* a public opinion at work which is more potent than any power of sword or gun; and this it is which is dictating that joint and inter-dependent action on armaments, which marks a definitely new method of international procedure. Something is accomplished, after all, when armaments are built by common agreement, and in accordance with a decent respect for the opinions of mankind.

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Of course, having gone so far, in the matter of armaments, one wonders why the nations do not go farther? Why have any armaments at all? It is perfectly obvious that England, France, Italy, Japan and the United States have no enemies to fear excepting one another. France can want submarines for no other purpose than that of holding her own in a war against England. Italy insists upon having a navy equal to that of France, only because she sees the possibility in some not distant future of fighting that adjacent country. America and Japan can discuss offensive and defensive weapons on no other basis than that of an eventual conflict between themselves. How ridiculous that these nations, all allied against the common enemy in the late war, and now good friends, should be meeting in peace and harmony to discuss armaments which can be used against no foe save one another! Why not go straight to the bottom of things, recognize the facts, and agree not to limit armaments, but to abolish war and thus do away with armaments altogether? Why not, indeed? if not for the simple reason that the nations are not yet ready for peace, that they see advantages in war, even against past allies and present friends, which they are not willing to forego. It is this fact which makes it so difficult to enthuse over anything that is now going on in Washington, or to believe that what is done can have any effectual or durable results. After all, when men did away with murder, they *did away with it!* Why not do the same with war?

---

England wants to do away with submarines! If there was one spark of sincerity in the denunciations that were heaped upon Germany during the World War for her use of the submarine in that conflict, all the other nations would now be joining England in one grand and glorious opportunity to get rid of this

sneaking pirate craft. But do they do so? Not at all! They all insist, in opposition to the plea of the British Admiralty, that the submarine must be retained. Which means that, in the next war, France, Italy, Japan, and the United States want to be in a position to use the submarine, if necessary, exactly as Germany used it in the last war! Germany, in other words, employed this weapon only as other nations would have done, and now desire to be able to do, under the same circumstances. Protests against the German submarine operations were only a part of the "bunk" with which the people were fooled into being good patriots! Not even England is sincere in her opposition to submarines at this moment; for her position is based not at all upon the high-sounding moral considerations which she cites so movingly, but simply and solely upon the inescapable fact that these plunging ships can be used more effectively by an enemy against her, than by herself in her own defense. For ourselves, we hope that the submarine will be scrapped, and welcome any argument which will help to this end. But in the interests of truth we feel it healthful to point out that decision on this matter will be determined by no other issue than that of the separate, private advantage of each particular nation concerned.

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H. L. Mencken tells of laughing with such laughter "as tears the very midriff from its moorings" at the spectacle of young Theodore Roosevelt being received into the Disarmament Conference as a naval expert. We also have been laughing, not only at this but at various other events of the day, until we can hold in no longer; we must explode, and the columns of UNITY are at the moment the most convenient place for the concussion of our mirth. Hence—behold the spectacle of Henry Cabot Lodge, arch-enemy of Wilson's League of Nations and proposed triple alliance with England and France, solemnly standing spokesman before the world for the four-power alliance of England, France, Japan and the United States in the Pacific! Look at Lloyd-George receiving the plaudits of mankind for granting freedom to Ireland, the whiles he imprisons and murders the champions of Indian freedom on the other side of the globe! Listen to Secretary of War Weeks shouting for a universal conscription act in the next war for all men from 18 to 60 years of age, when "Who's Who" shows all who may care to run and read that he himself is safely 61! Note the great "discovery" in Warsaw of the Wall Street bomb miscreants, and the $30,000 paid them by Moscow for the dastardly deed! And above all, discern how popular it is to denounce war these days, when there is no war to denounce! We prythee, friends, have mercy upon us! A little more of this, and we shall perish utterly, for we may die from laughter as effectually as from tears. And yet, is it not this very laughter that saves us? Indeed, how could we live did we not see this funny side of things? In truth, dear friends, this is it! *"We laugh that we may not weep."*

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In his admirably sympathetic biography of that noble Bostonian, Henry Lee Higginson, Mr. Bliss Perry describes in much detail the troubles which came upon Mr. Higginson during the war in connection with his relations, as patron, to the Boston Symphony Orchestra and its conductor, Dr. Muck. There was one fact, says the author, "to which Major Higginson gave possibly too tardy a recognition"—the fact, namely, that there

> was a phase of war-feeling which made it impossible for many good men and women to look . . . at a German face or to read a German book, or to listen to a German musical composition. It was illogical and perhaps irrational; yet most of us, in our disgust and horror at Germany's conduct in the war, could not help transferring our dislike to any object that reminded us vividly of Germany. . . . If Mr. Higginson was at fault at all in this whole trying experience, it was in his slowness in putting himself in the place of the subscribers to concerts (pp. 490-491).

On the contrary, we insist that if there was any one thing more noble than another in Mr. Higginson's splendid career, it was in his steadfast refusal, in the face even of his own ardent sympathy with the Allied cause, to recognize nationalism in art! It was not only "illogical" and "irrational," but *immoral* for so-called "good men and women" to turn away from German literature and music because of the war-policy of Kaiser Wilhelm. Think of being such a moral pervert as to find it "impossible to look at a German face" because America happens to be at war with Germany! Suppose we go to war with England tomorrow, and are duly informed by official propaganda bureaus of the horrible things done by the English in the fighting! Are we to prove our character and patriotism by feeling it "impossible" to look at the face of Balfour, or to read a novel by Wells, or to listen to a musical composition by Elgar? The fact of the matter is that Boston was more than ordinarily cursed during the war by "patrioteers"; and they wrecked the greatest orchestra in America, and darkened the closing years of a man the latchet of whose shoes no one of them was worthy to unloose. Major Higginson was never so true a patron of the arts, and never so faithful an American, as when he refused to surrender to this madness. It is the one blemish on Bliss Perry's book that he does not acclaim this as the brightest jewel in his hero's crown.

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At his ceremony of ordination as the new rector of Trinity parish, New York, Dr. Stetson was duly presented, by ancient custom, with the keys of the church and its various chapels. In handing over these keys, the senior warden declared that "by virtue thereof (he inducted the new minister) into the real, actual and corporal possession of the rectorship with all its fruits, profits, members, and appurtenances." In ac-

cepting the same, Dr. Stetson stated that "with them (he accepted) the temporalities, profits and appurtenances of the rectory and, by the grace of God, (would) faithfully perform the duties of (his) office." We are no stickler for form, and therefore see as little reason for carping at them as for kow-towing to them. Nevertheless, we must confess our amazement at such a form of installation as this, even in the case of a parish where property has always bulked so large as in Old Trinity. We never before heard of a service where mention was made of "fruits, profits, appurtenances," and such like things. It hurts us to think of a minister, on the occasion of his induction into what should be a sacred office, considering these matters of purely material concern, and being obliged to speak of them. Not "temporalities" but spiritualities should properly hold the center of his attention! This ceremony, we are told, has been followed ever since the founding of the church in 1697. Is this an explanation of the church's tragic history since that date? Such inquiry is more or less fantastic. None the less, we think it might well be the symbol of the dawning of a new day if Dr. Stetson, whose record as a priest seems to promise such genuinely fine things, should begin his work by ridding the parish for good and all of this Mammonistic ceremony of installation.

---

Many of those who believe in the present ecclesiastical order point to the various social service programs as evidence that the Christian denominations are keeping abreast of the times. From the Catholics on the one hand, through practically every Protestant church to the Jews on the other, splendid pronouncements are issued, covering nearly every phase of the social question. Are they not, indeed, ample evidence that the churches of today are rapidly orienting themselves toward a new point of view? At a superficial glance, it would seem so. But the real test is in following these programs into the local parish. What becomes of them? It is easy to account for their origin in conventions where they are conceived, sponsored, and pushed by a small group of the more progressive young men who have gone into the meeting with the single purpose of putting the program through. But these young men do not *represent* the church. They are trying to remake it. The people who represent the church are in the parishes. And where is there a parish which puts the social service program into action? There are exceptional churches here and there which are trying to do something to relate themselves to the larger social problems. But they are sadly few and far between. The programs conceived in high hopes, vanish into thin air before they reach the vital point of their application. They are not evidences that the local churches are permeated with a new vision and social purpose.

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We are informed by a Boston friend that we were wrong last week when we said, *à propos* of the Boston mayoralty election, that Mr. Curley, the successful candidate, was supported by the *American*. Hearst's paper, it seems, was lined up with all the other great newspapers in opposition. The only journal which supported Curley was a newly-established sheet called the *Telegram*. This mistake was unfortunate, and we ask for pardon; but its correction only strengthens our case—namely, that the goodwill of our newspapers these days is not an asset but a liability. If any man wants to win the public, let his first rule be, Get the newspapers against you!

## Wanted: A Sane Man

"The world is my idea." This familiar formula of the old idealistic metaphysics is a fair way to being demonstrated scientifically by the "new physchology," as it is rather loosely called in the popular magazines of the day. In a newer and far deeper sense a man may now be said to live in a world of his own making. We men do for all practical purposes live in the world of our ideas. In the last analysis the world we live in is just the projection upon the background of the Unknown of our own thoughts, impulses, passions;—in a single word, of our own soul.

The fanatic in some new religion, for example; the political agitator; the social rebel;—he may think he is merely an instrument in the hands of God. This indeed may be the honest conviction of his conscious mind. But the fact is, this zeal of his is, usually in some disguised form, nothing more than the violent eruption upon the outer world of his own pent-up, subconscious ego. The "God" he worships, the "Party" he serves, the "Country" he loves, the "Cause" he lives and dies for, is *himself*, writ large and projected upon the world. And the emotions which grip him at the mere mention of these talismanic words turn out on analysis to be certain rather personal feelings he has transferred to these larger and more majestic objects. His "heavenly Father," for example, is his earthly father transferred to the skies above. Defeated in love, he turns the torrent of his passion into the channels of some great cause of humanity at large. And so on.

In the December issue of the *Atlantic Monthly*, Mr. Clutton-Brock, the art critic, has printed an article entitled "Pooled Self-Esteem," in which he makes a very clever and highly plausible use of the new psychoanalysis to explain the phenomena of Patriotism. The one-hundred-per-cent patriot is a man with an "inferiority complex," as the Adlerians would call it. Defeated in his own ego, he regains his self-esteem by identifying himself with his Country. In exalting his

country above all other nations it is really himself he unconsciously is exalting above all other men. His praise of his country is really self-laudation. He shines, shall we say? in the reflected glory of his native land. "The king can do no wrong" really means that in his heart of hearts he feels that he himself is a king and can do no wrong. His refusal to see any fault in his country and no good in other countries is symptomatic of his blindness to the faults in himself and his cynical denial of any good in other men.

By this same method of rather easy-going analysis other writers have lately explained certain outstanding social phenomena of the present day. The conflict between Capital and Labor, for example. The thing the Capitalist calls the Established Order, and which he does fairly worship as the Rock of Ages, is in truth his own little self seeking its own security. The Laborite on the other hand is a little soul seeking in the company of his comrades to gain a notoriety and applause his meager talents can command only by thus attaching himself to some large and popular cause. In "class consciousness," whether of the capitalist or the proletarian type, the man sees his own littler self mirrored and magnified in the image of his class: his defeated hopes fulfilled in the hopes of his class. Indeed a very recent writer has narrowed it all down into a "phobia"—this thing we call class-consciousness. The capitalist thinks he fears for the foundations of society when he cries out against the "Red." What he really fears is for the foundations of his own personal interests and fortunes. The "Red" weeps bitter tears over the wrongs and miseries that are being heaped upon the defenseless heads of his comrades. He is really weeping over the wrongs he has suffered in his own person and lamenting the hopeless defenselessness of his own position in society.

This socio-psychoanalysis, if we may coin a word for it, is only in its infancy. It remains to be seen whether this child of the fancy of certain social psychologists will grow and wax strong and become a fully developed and responsible social science. Meanwhile this infant science does already suggest certain profitable reflections to the lay mind.

If, as the new science claims, the world we do practically live in is the creation of our own selves; and if in this rather solemn sense, we are forever imposing ourselves upon others all about us; it behooves us to develop within us a sane and well balanced self! It was bad enough to have a disordered, one-sided, or divided self when, as in the view of the old psychology, we alone were affected. But to formulate that divided and one-sided self into a world-view, as we do; and to impose that world-view upon others, as we must; that's a more serious business. Any lack of balance in us tends to unbalance the whole world! Our breadth of mind on the other hand, our far-sightedness, in a word our sanity, tends to steady and broaden and lead forward the whole human race! That is the office we, even the humblest of us, have to serve in the life of humanity.

What the world needs today (to get away from theories and from our humble selves)—what the world does woefully need is a Great Leader, a man who shall have in him what these new psychologists mean by the well-balanced mind. Heaven knows the world is unbalanced enough! divided against itself! the victim of all manner of fears, superstitions, prejudices! halting between two opinions! nay, wandering in a wilderness of a thousand tangled opinions. What the world needs is the steadying, guiding influence of a Sane Man. A Man free from the fears and prejudices of any class or nation or race; able to see all human interests and rights in their true relation to the human race as a whole; immune from the hysterias that are too often disguised as love of country, loyalty to a cause; a mind neither "reactionary" nor "radical" in any sectarian, pathological, egotistical degree; a soul as deep and as broad as the whole human race!

The present age is calling for such a Man. Indeed in the last generation several near-great men have answered that call only to falter and fall by the wayside. Roosevelt; but he was too boyish, not yet deep enough. Clemenceau; but he has in him that fatal taint of cynicism that in the end must unbalance any mans life. Lloyd-George; but he has in him that cursed political canniness which he goes on mistaking for political wisdom. Woodrow Wilson; but he has in him that flaw of egotism which, shades of Moses! caused him in the end to substitute for the "Thus saith the Lord" of his early days the "Thus saith Woodrow Wilson" of his later days; and which in the end made him impotent to lead humanity out of the wilderness into the promised land. These men, all of them, in their youth looked and spoke and acted very like the Sane Man the world today is still confidently expecting to appear on this earth.

Where is this Man? A few years ago all the world thought he had appeared in the person of Tolstoy. Men today, many of them, think he has arrived in the person of Romain Rolland. Others, many hundreds of thousands of his followers, think they see him in the person of Gandhi. Who knows and who can say? All we can say is that the world awaits him, this Sane Man, to come and speak the enlightening word to this generation and to lead the way out of this present world-wilderness. And when he comes we shall know him by unmistakable signs. We shall hear in his words not his own personal voice but the Voice of Humanity speaking through him. We shall feel in him not just one man's love for his own kith and kind but the love of a great soul for all mankind.

FRANK C. DOAN.

## Some Thoughts on Debs

Our feelings on the release of Debs from the prison at Atlanta may be accurately measured by contrast with the protest of Prosecutor Wertz, the howls of the American Legion and the choler of the New York *Times*. We are as glad as these are sorry! The folks at Terre Haute, in the "welcome-home" they gave their honored and beloved fellow-townsman, expressed our sentiments exactly.

---

To know that Debs is free, is an inexpressible relief. Nothing can remove, however, the record of his imprisonment, as nothing can restore to him the years of which he has been robbed. That this heroic and gentle man, for no other offense than that of opinion, was arrested, convicted and imprisoned, is a crime the stain of which can never be washed from the nation's honor. That he was confined long after the close of the war, is proof positive that there is no such thing as freedom in this country. What the crucifixion of Jesus shows about ancient Palestine, the incarceration of Debs shows about modern America.

---

We wish that we could feel grateful to President Harding, but we cannot. His granting of amnesty might have been so magnificent a gesture, so inspiring an example! As it is, his act of pardon came almost a year after his accession to office, was only granted in response to the most determined expressions of public opinion, was accompanied by a picayune denial of restoration to rights of citizenship, and was extended only to a small minority of those confined for political offenses. It is difficult, indeed impossible, even with the best will in the world, to feel enthusiasm for mercy so grudgingly bestowed.

---

Harding shines in contrast, however, to Woodrow Wilson! Mr. Tumulty tells us, in his "Woodrow Wilson as I Know Him," that the former President was seeking, in his various official acts, "to play for the verdict of mankind." In a conversation with his Secretary, he is reported as saying,

> "I have made up my mind that I am more interested in the opinion that the country will have of me ten years from now than the opinion it may be willing to express today."

And this is the man who wrote "Denied" across Attorney-General Palmer's recommendation for Debs's release! Well, all we have to say is, that Mr. Wilson gambled as bunglingly for the judgment of posterity in his action on Debs as in his appeal to "force without stint" in his quest for peace. When the final estimate is placed upon Woodrow Wilson's character, nothing will go harder against him than his refusal to free his rival for the presidency.

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In considering Harding and Wilson, it is obvious that one of these two men has been guilty of serious error. Tumulty tells us that his chief refused to pardon Debs because, as he put it, "this man was a traitor to his country." If this is so, President Harding's action is indefensible. A "traitor" yesterday is a traitor today, and deserves the fate of a traitor. As a matter of fact, of course, Debs is not and never was a traitor. He was a brave, fearless, loving man, who spoke the truth at a time when it was least welcome to those seated in the seats of power. It is pitiable to see that Wilson was less merciful than Pilate!

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But these are "old, unhappy, far-off things." We should perhaps forget them—surely forgive them. Debs we know would have it so, for he bears no grudge, cherishes no ill-will, even against his enemies. In the greatness of his heart all injuries disappear, as all refuse in the vastness of the sea. Who would not be Debs this day? the supreme figure in the moral life of America!

---

We wish for Debs, first, long days of rest and quiet in that well-stocked library of his, with his beloved wife beside him, his faithful brother, and friends at call. *Then*—a tour of the country, that, in all places of the land, freemen may hail him, and hear his words of prophecy!

JONH HAYNES HOLMES.

---

### THE MASTER JOY.*

We shall not travel by the road we make;
  Ere day by day the sound of many feet
Is heard upon the stones that now we break
  We shall be come to where the cross-roads meet.

For us the heat by day, the cold by night,
  The inch-slow progress, and the heavy load,
And death at last to close the long grim fight
  With man and beast and stone; for them the Road.

For them the shade of trees that now we plant,
  The safe, smooth journey and the final goal,
Yea, birthright in the land of covenant—
  For us day labor, travail of the soul.

And yet—the road is ours as never theirs!
  Is not one joy on us alone bestowed?
For us the Master-Joy, O Pioneers—
  We shall not travel, but we make the Road.

—*Friedlander, in "The Inlander."*

**This message comes from a missionary group working in the interior of Australia.*

# The New Universalism

Delivered by WALTER WALSH, at the Fifth Anniversary of the Commencement of the Free Religious Movement in London.

*First Reading*: "The Creed of an Independent Man" (George W. Stone).

*Second Reading*: "The Strongest Company on Earth" (Olive Schreiner, in *Trooper Peter Halket*).

*Key-note*:

"Universality is the sole test of truth." (De Maistre in *Du Pape*).

On this, the sixth birthday of our local fragment of the world-wide Free Religious Movement, I would connect it with that New Universalism for which it is only another name. A bold text from De Maistre will at once throw the door open, and we enter without further ceremony, "Universality is the sole test of truth."

The title of this Address implies that there was an older Universalism, to which I pause to do honor as forerunner of one greater than itself.

The Universalist denomination has won its greatest triumph in the United States, though it traces its origin to James Relly, a London preacher of the eighteenth century, author of a book called "The Union." Towards the end of that century, one of Relly's disciples, John Murray, emigrated to New England, and under his influence a few small churches were formed, which speedily drew in Hosea Ballou, through whose powerful evangel Universalism developed till it numbered some hundreds of churches and ministers, and several colleges, in which position it stands today.

A brief statement of the doctrines taught by the Universalist church would appear to be necessary, and I may return to that. But it may be more profitable to proceed in the first place to that great evangel of ultimate and universal salvation from which it derived its name.

Like the orthodox churches, Universalism based itself on the books of the Old Testament and the New, from which it deduced the ideas of One God who is Love, One Lord who is Jesus Christ, and One Holy Spirit who will finally restore the whole family of mankind, both the living and the countless myriads of the dead, to holiness and happiness. It was this last doctrine that constituted its Universalism.

By the conviction that the divine economy knows only one salvation, and that such salvation is universal, the older Universalism held—and holds—that all souls will finally be saved, because evil is temporary, while good alone is permanent and destined to complete and perfect triumph. The moral government of God passes beyond time into eternity where it operates with redemptive effects, and is completely vindicated in the ultimate harmony of the moral universe. There is one destiny for all, which is Eternal Life; and one heaven for all, which is God's reign within and without. No power can defeat the sovereign purpose of God—no revolting Satan, and no tormenting hell—for he will bring all things into subjection to himself. This the divine power ensures by means which are neither violent nor mechanical, but which spring out of those natural relations that are established between the different parts of the divine economy. The ultimate happiness of all souls is assured, but it is happiness through holiness, reached only by voluntary obedience to divine law. In reality, it is righteousness which is the divine end, happiness being secondary and incidental. Thus was religion regarded as a means of realizing ethical perfection hereafter as well as here, on the spirit plane as well as on earth.

The older Universalism was magnificent in the way it asserted that there was but one Universe, and that it was a moral Universe in which Law and Love were the same. It discarded as futile and absurd the idea that the passage from the seen to the unseen, by the process called death, could determine to all eternity the moral status of any soul. It swept aside the unscientific and superstitious dogma that death could either arrest the moral development of man, or alter the disposition and purpose of his Creator. The nature of man as a moral agent, and of God as a moral influence, must, after death, remain essentially what they were before it. With the glorified faith of Tennyson, Universalism beheld the whole creation sweeping towards the grand finality of cosmic holiness and love.

Now, in so far as the New Universalism accepts the immortality of the soul, or individual survival of personality, it goes all the way with its elder brother. Certainly the present speaker does so, and has frequently from this platform proclaimed the glorious gospel of emptied hells and full heavens in the great hereafter —without (as I must safeguard myself by saying) endorsing the traditional heaven and hell, but regarding them as figments of imagination, or symbolic figures of a future of which we know nothing for certain. The point of identity between the Old and the New is the solidarity of man. The destiny of man is a common destiny. The fate of one is ultimately the fate of all. Is one damned? Then all are damned! Is one saved? Then are all saved!

Thus is built the bridge by which we pass over from the older Universalism to the New. The vital ligature by which the New is born from the Old is belief in one Humanity; a Humanity gifted with moral sense, knowing that it is under law, and responsible for its own destiny. The New Universalism accepts the faith in a divine Humanity, but expresses it in accents which are more humanistic and less dogmatic. The accent of the older faith was biblical, ecclesiastical, creedal, and becomes increasingly foreign to an age which is realizing the worship of God through the service of man. Therefore the New Universalism—without discarding speculations or enquiries about future life—boldly transfers the accent to the life that now is. Believing in progress and moral evolution, it avows its confidence in man's future even on this planet, and in coming ages of earthly history. Above all nations it exalts a united Humanity, and contemplates a harmonious blending of material facts and spiritual forces in such direction as shall produce definite results in the spheres of politics and economics, the avowed aim of which shall be a Universal Co-operative Commonwealth. Regarding God as an expression for the collective ideal of the human race,—an ideal to which each may aspire and all are capable of reaching,—it dedicates its efforts to the development of the God in man, rather than to the service of gods unreachable beyond the skies.

But let us enjoin caution with regard to the conclusions of our own minds. When we pronounce the word "God" we are at once transported into realms of mystery where we must speak with bated breath and without dogmatism. The older Universalism formulated a transcendent sovereign Deity who was infinite and eternal, whose energy was everywhere and always directed towards securing from all his creatures that willing obedience which would finally cause the moral universe to arrange itself in rhythmic harmony. And that wonderful climax of human affairs was to be achieved because God's energy was the energy of Love. God *is* Love, and all his attributes and activities flow from that inexhaustible fountain.

This is so beautiful that I think it must be true. And, so far as I am acquainted with it, I would say that in general the New Universalism would agree that Love is the cause and condition of all that is and all that may be. But with the discrediting of despotic monarchies—of which the fate of Tsars and the fall of Kaisers is a symbol—the despotic deity has also fallen from his high estate, and we are increasingly unwilling to speak of him in terms of sovereignty unlimited, though there are occasions when such forms of speech may be a convenience. In many minds, the heavenly King has been supplanted by the heavenly Father of Jesus, who, in his turn, is making way for the God immanent in the universe and the mind of man, and who refuses to be circumscribed by sex names. The Universal God must be unaffected by human notions of sex or class or race; and from this more spiritual conception springs a genuine democracy working on its program of freedom and equality for all. The age of democracy has been completed by the admission of sex-equality, and since men necessarily make gods in their own image, the age gropes after a democratic deity—an international and universal deity—who represents and expresses the common sentiment by which the faiths, the sexes, and the peoples of the world are bound together in one grand, unbroken unity. The spirit of God in all men lifts all men to the same level. The belief in the divineness of Humanity leads straight to economic and political equality. The Universal God claims to be manifested in the ethics and sociology of a universalized Humanity.

I am quite willing to keep step with those progressive religionists who like to deduce the Brotherhood of Man from the Fatherhood of God; but, in conformity with beliefs just stated, I prefer to deduce the Fatherhood of God from the Brotherhood of Man. The New Universalism writes its philosophy in terms of the moral values that inhere in human character, and from these must necessarily spring the compelling politics of Internationalism, and the uniting religion of Universalism. Universal love can live and renew itself only by bathing in the thought of the Universal God as he expresses himself in Universal Humanity. Let those who are so minded continue to count the number of their divinities, and let others tell forth their deity's attributes so long as it seems to them good. There can be no disagreement. The spirit of universal freedom and fraternity will speedily bring new lines of agreement to the surface, dissolve the obduracies surviving from well-nigh forgotten controversies, and fuse all wills into one sublime resolve to seek first the reign of heaven within the human conscience, and next in human economics, sociology, and politics. No conceivable theologies will then divide men into sects and patriotisms. Each and all will rejoice to confess that in their varied ways they were thinking God's thoughts after him. There will be only one church—the Church of God, or the Church of Man as you may choose to call it—the Church of all good men and women, yes, and the so-called bad men and women too—the Union of all who love in the service of all who suffer.

Perhaps the question may be proposed to me as a test: What did the older Universalism do to oppose the recent war, or to bring it to an early conclusion? To that question I am bound to answer that, so far as I have heard or read, it did neither better nor worse than the sectarian forms of religion alongside it. Its Universalism being relegated to a future state of existence, to the extinguishing of hells beyond, naturally had no direct bearing on that hell-upon-earth known as war. I can even imagine that, as in the *Bhagavad-Gita* the (god) Krishna encouraged the hero Arjuna to go on with the fight, on the ground that the more bodies he slew the more souls were liberated to proceed on their way to greater enlightenment. Universalists of that type might hold the same doctrine as Krishna, and get on with the war for the good of souls! But I have no information.

What I do know is that a broad-minded German theologian—Professor Rade of Marburg—has set down his deep disappointment with "liberal" religion in this very crisis and test of war. By "liberal" religion, Dr. Rade refers more particularly to Unitarianism, and he wonders whether "liberalism" has not already fulfilled its mission; whether it is not inadequate to solve the new problems, and powerless to produce anything of value. "Look," he cries, "at the warring peoples today! Where is the distinction between the liberal and the conservative? Is justice towards the enemy, good faith in the observance of universal human, international relationships any better displayed among the liberals of any country? Even now, in the presence of the common need on all sides for international peace, does liberalism disclose itself as the spiritual power which is to bring about this confessedly difficult solution of our international problems? . . . While I believe in a World Congress, to assemble shortly after the war to promote the International idea, I attribute little drawing power and effectiveness to a professedly *liberal* one."

That, Sirs, is a sad judgment, but a true one. The failure of liberal religionists was as complete and desolating as that of the orthodox, and was paralleled in its results only by the similar failure of the University intellectuals. I say this,—not for the sake of bringing a railing accusation against my Unitarian brethren, but,—for the sake of insisting that nothing but the fullest and most comprehensive Universalism can lift the peoples of the earth above the possiblity of more horrible wars yet to come.

But before proceeding further along that line, I ask leave to answer a question which, if I do not answer it here, is sure to reach me by post from various quarters. This is the question: Wherein does Unitarianism differ from the old Universalism on the one hand, and the New Universalism on the other? Not many words are needed, and I can spare but few.

As to the first part of the query. Its doctrine of universal salvation brought the Universalist denomination into line with the Unitarian churches, which held the same view, though less dogmatically; as indeed, in all its views, Unitarianism is less ecclesiastical and more

humanist in its tone; for which reason Unitarianism has been a more influential pioneer of inclusive religion, the other having lingered among the dry bones of book-theology. The resemblance and the contrast between the two Unities may be set forth in the quip attributed to some wise and witty person, who, being asked to explain the difference between Unitarians and Universalists, replied: "One thinks he is too good for God to damn; the other thinks God is too good to damn him."

As to the second part of the query, the truest way I can put it is to say that while Unitarnianism has greatly assisted in building the bridge from sectarianism to New Universalism it has never crossed the stream. There are shades and degrees in Unitarianism, but in general—and I will use no words but those of its own exponents—while it stands for one faith for all, and one leader for all, the faith is Christianity, and the leader is Jesus; and it emphasizes these sectarian affirmations by the exclusively Christian ordinances of baptism and the Lord's supper. The New Universalism, on the other hand, perceives the one faith in all the great historic religions, and acknowledges the leadership of every one of the immortal teachers and founders. Longer speech on this, however, I must reserve for a future occasion.

Religious *rapprochement* is one of the visible signs of the times. One of the impressive world-movements is the approach of the greater religions towards one another. Consciously sometimes, unconsciously sometimes, the tides are setting towards the harbor of Unity. Within all orthdox folds are to be discerned groups of innovating scholars exposing internal errors, modernizing ancient commentaries, and preparing the way of a wider catholicity. Such—to mention only a few—are Sufis and Bahais within the fold of Mahomet; Theists, Brahmos, and the Arunachal Mission inside Hinduism, the Nichirens inside Buddhism; Reform Judaism within the ancient fold of Moses; Modernists within the Papacy; Higher Critics and Social Revolutionists in every camp of Protestantism; while Theosophy and Higher Thought diffuse themselves throughout, and tend to unite the whole. For these converging forces and those who go with them waits the glorious Universalist future.

Oh, Sirs, believe me I am not out to chop logic, or spin cobwebs, or fool with mere theories. I am out for serious business. I am in dead earnest. In face of a world which is already in Purgatory, yet rushing straight to Hell, who could play the fool! I challenge every serious-minded man or woman to say whether anything short of what I am advocating can avert the destruction of the human race.. The world-situation demands to be dealt with in its entirety; for it is but one situation. Nothing but heroic measures can save us. The various armed groups calling themselves Pan-Saxon, Pan-Teuton, Pan-American, Pan-Orient, and what not, must either merge themselves into the Pan-Human, or slay each other to the last man; while the similar religious groups called Jew, Christian, Moslem, Hindu, and so forth, must come together in a great League of Peace, or they will have to look helplessly on while the armed groups murder each other, or may give their blessing to the various groups of murderers, and find themselves left alone to mutter their devil-worship over a world of corpses.

The Creative Power has ushered you and me on to the human stage just at the advent of definite Internationalism, for which Universalism is only a larger name with religious implications. Nationalism has damned itself, and is now seen to be only a paltry form of parochialism, for a nation is merely a parish on a great scale. We sneer at provincialism and extol patriotism; yet what is patriotism but a jealous provincialism of one country against another? Nationalism takes the segment for the circle. It fore-shortens the world-view, and sees the things of mankind distorted and out of proportion. Further, nationalism is subject to a terrible disease known as war-madness. It begets maggots in the brain—patriotism, imperialism, race superiority, my country right or wrong—which gender wars as surely as electric clouds break in thunder bolts and fire.

Make up your minds about it now. If we are to heal the wounds of past wars—not to speak of preventing future ones—it is necessary to place ourselves at the universal point of view. In what better way can antagonisms be reconciled? How other can governments avoid conflicts for foreign markets, involving exploitation of weaker, or non-military peoples? The Universal must replace the sectional. The whole must be substituted for the part. A world that had ceased to be sectarian would not long remain patriotic. Universalism in religion would lead straight to Internationalism in politics, as surely as the letter "a" leads through all stages of the alphabet to the letter "z."

I have put a question and await an answer. I discount in advance the argument that men's common interests will suffice to bring them together in some sort of co-operation, and bind them to keep the peace. I notice that in the House of Commons the other night an ex-premier mouthed the worm-eaten utilitarian catch-word of "enlightened self-interest"! The man must have known better, for he has knowledge and a mind. But as a politician he had to say something, and out popped the old shibboleth, in disproval of which millions of men have lately been slain at the ford. No self-interest is enlightened enough to leash the hounds of war, or cool war-frenzy, and hold the nations back from carnage which is as suicidal as it is murderous. No political scheme is yet big enough to embrace and harmonize the interests of the heterogeneous races, tribes, commerce, finance, customs, cultures, view-points which make up the combination called mankind. Nothing less than the blending influence of sympathy, faith and love can achieve the miracle. Love's regenerating force is adequate to secure final unity. It is love's opposite that has driven the peoples apart, and only love's self can bring them together again in closer union than ever before. Religion can create the motive power. Religion, which works by love, will have to meet and master politics, or government, working by hate. Therefore the various forms of religion must get together and formulate a mighty catholic movement of redemptive love. There is no other hope of the world's emancipation from the grip of finance, the domination of empire, and the desolations of war. If the world is not to fall still deeper into whatever hell there is, it must be rebuilt on the foundation of love, and held together by the mortar of love. Only so can the new heaven and the new earth of the prophet's vision be realized.

Yet, I ask you business people not to mistake me. I affirm that the practical steps to be taken are not difficult to devise. The means do not baffle the wit of man. They have been indicated by more than one broad-

minded thinker here and there among the various nations. What is principally wanted is the *will*—the will to follow on. Human nature being everywhere the same, human society offers no indigestible elements to the process of being universalized. Since Humanity is one soul, it can be made one body. All being members of the same body, are subject to the same diseases of suspicion, oppression, violence, outrage, and collective murder; but are also subject to the healing influence of the same good-will and fraternal dealing. To such a state of preparedness has the interdependence of the nations advanced, that by a sublime gesture on the part of one of them it would be possible to unite them all in one vast Co-operation with ramifications reaching to the remotest corners of the habitable globe. I repeat that the will alone is wanting. The way can be shown. The way *has* been shown. It is for the various religions to unite their powers, and lead on.

The Free Religious Movement puts things in their right order. World-religion being admitted, World-brotherhood necessarily follows. After the ages of sunderance, here meet East and West.

I give you the wise words of a progressive Hindu leader—one of those who have shown a way: "The only means of putting an end to the serious unrest which now sweeps over the whole Eastern Asia and India is this World-Union. There is none other."*

Verily there is none other! Mankind must stake their all on that. There is none other.

The last word, as the first, shall be with De Maistre: "Universality is the sole test of truth."

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## The Situation in Macedonia

**From P. M. Matthieff of Sofia, a leading citizen of Bulgaria, I have received translations from Serbian and Greek publications dealing with Bulgarian matters. These show the plight of the people in districts wrenched from Bulgaria by the ill-starred Treaty of Bucharest and the unwittingly iniquitous Treaty of Neuilly.**

**David Starr Jordan.**

I.

A confidential note from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to district police in Serbia directs the method of filling out the blanks as to military and civilian injuries to Serbians "to justify in Paris the nineteen milliards of war compensations." The clauses noted as the most important refer to the maimed, wounded, and fallen—to be inscribed as "military persons," and as such "must be counted all who receive the least wound or injury or have fallen ill for whatever short time" . . . "also those who were not in full good health before entering the military service, and suffered further in health during their service or after demobilization. The health of all service men has suffered; the consequences will be seen after a year or so." Among civilians are to be inscribed not only all who died or suffered from typhus or other contagious disease, but "all those persons who during the last two years have not felt themselves as well as they were before the war" . . . "No case must be left out of whatever nature, without regard to sex or whether the person lives abroad or whether he is alive or dead. . . . Every case in which a person paid something must be established whether his losses, . . . are not connected with any of the above cases. . . . In the establishing of these cases the work must be accomplished secretly and with precaution. . . . Everywhere the priests, teachers, the secretaries of the communities must be engaged that lists may be completed by the ninth of April."

II.

From the *Belgrade Journal,* Balkan, Sept. 2, 1920:

Three years now unhappy South Serbia (Macedonia) ferments; an unfortunate and suffering people is being murdered; three years since the tortured Serbians rejoiced in their new Serbian liberation, but alas for a short time. They too soon had to ask themselves, "Where is the old freedom? The sun of today cannot be so warm, its rays do not shine as before, cold and darkness, oppression and incendiarism are everywhere as it was during the Turkish regime and the (allied) occupation. Truly the situation not only in the Sandjak (Novibazar and Prizrend), but throughout the whole of South Serbia is despairing."

This journal lays the blame for a military reign of terror, in this mixed population, in which Bulgarians, Serbians, and Albanians suffer alike, on the Minister of the Interior, Pribicchitchevitch, and his "Coste Petchanetz"—(police-terrorists).

III.

The last congress of the International Red Cross prepared for an investigation of the war activities of the various Red Cross societies. It was to be undertaken by representatives of Switzerland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Holland and Spain.

To this the Journal *Politics,* at Belgrade, organ of the Foreign Office, has objected. In its issue of October 6, it says:

"The whole thing is clear. Bulgarians and Germans have played their cards well with their neutral friends. This will turn out a second edition of the enquiry by the Carnegie Commission.* . . . But the Serbian people must not permit such a comedy. It has been once the victim of the partisan international enquiry: this must not be repeated. Now three years after the war the enquiry is impossible. The green fields and rebuilt houses do not speak of crimes commited in them. . . No, Serbia must not *be again the victim of such a late enquiry to be carried out by those who remained neutral. The Serbian Red Cross must oppose it.*"

IV.

The Greek journal *To Phos* (*The Light*), of Salonica, stated on September 15:

"The first thing a person notes on arrival in Macedonia is unhappily that the population speaks a foreign tongue . . . bad Bulgarian, but Bulgarian all the same. This condition of things is pitiful because after so many years and after such hard work, the Greek language has failed to impose itself along with freedom. The situation is most serious and vital. The first step a state is bound to take on assuming possession of foreign lands is to try to assimilate the language. Has not Germany done so in Alsace-Lorraine, in Poland and in the Austrian lands? . . . Unfortunately the state in this case has failed to solve the most important and serious question: It neglected and neglects the schools. There are no schools in Macedonia, the greater number are closed, those which are

* "The Master's World-Union Scheme," India, p. 170.

*Having gone over much the same ground myself six months later I can speak positively of the fairness and accuracy of the report of the Carnegie Commission.—D. S. J.

opened may as well be closed for their insignificance.†

"The government must see to the extinction in the shortest possible time of the Bulgarian langauge, and this can be attained only through the schools. . . .

"In the midst of Macedonia when every mile has been fertilized with the blood of our children, when the mountains and the fields are witnesses to the wandering shades of our heroes in the night, enlivened by the nightingale's song, to hear the language of the descendants of Kroum (an ancient Bulgarian King) in Greek Macedonia, is the greater shame."

†Before the war Macedonia was well provided with schools, which youth of all races attended. In school and church alike, Greek only is now used in Macedonia.—P. M. M.

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## The Washington Conference and World Peace

At the outset we must understand that the Washington Conference is a continuation of the Peace Conference held in Paris. What the Paris Conference attempted, the Washington Conference is trying to achieve. The Paris Peace Conference was not for world peace, but rather for dividing the spoils among the victors. This conference in Washington is for a realignment of the victorious powers on a new basis of balance of power, which has become necessary in view of the changes in the policy of various nations, particularly the big five of the Paris Conference.

There would not have been any Washington Conference if the American people had not repudiated the policy of Woodrow Wilson, by discarding the League of Nations, refusing to ratify the Anglo-American-French Treaty of Alliance, and also refusing to ratify the Treaty of Peace which was signed by Woodrow Wilson in Paris. Students of world politics must clearly understand that the holding of the Conference in Washington means that the center of gravity of World politics has shifted to the capital of the United States. No nation can deny that the United States occupies the most commanding position in world politics.

The most remarkable thing regarding the Conference is that there is no Big Five any more, but the Big Three has taken its place. This means that America, Great Britain, and Japan are the powers which are acting as arbiters of the world situation.

This change of status is due to the fact that Britain is not in favor of having France as her co-partner in world politics because of the acute differences existing between these two powers regarding their conflicting interests in Europe, the Mediterrean, and particularly in Turkey.

The first actual achievement of the Conference up to the present time is the signing of the so-called Four-Power Pact or the Anglo-American-Franco-Japanese Alliance. This pact will replace the Anglo-Japanese Alliance after the treaty is ratified by the nations concerned. It is doubtful whether America will ratify the treaty. Those who have studied the treaty carefully think that this pact is an alliance and means that America will be involved for the coming ten years in preserving the status quo in Asia in the interest of European and Asian imperialism. This means that America will be able to take a stand against the Chinese, Russian, and Indian aspirations. The real situation regarding the Four-Power Pact is filled with absolute uncertainty, as it appears today that Mr. Hughes and President Harding are not in accord in interpreting its provisions. The Big Three has by sufferance taken France into the Four-Power Pact, but there is every evidence that France is not at all satisfied with the situation.

Mr. Hughes' proposal of a navy cut and naval holiday is not at all carried through in its original form, and there is every reason to think that there will be difficulty in carrying it through because, in spite of the solid Anglo-American bloc against France, it is certain that France will not submit to the present naval ratio which will make the French navy much less than one-third of the British and relegate her to the position of a third class power. The British are struggling hard to get certain concessions regarding building of submarines, which will be opposed by the French, Italian, Dutch, American and possibly the Japanese.

The solution of the Chinese question, which should be of paramount interest to all lovers of freedom and world peace, is not progressing as it should. The Chinese demands emphasizing the abolition of extra-territorial jurisdiction and of spheres of influence, and insisting upon the right to increase the tariff, have met a cold reception. There is too much bargaining in the matter. Anglo-Japanese accord and American compliance in Anglo-Japanese diplomacy has put China at a decided disadvantage. But the Chinese are in fighting mood and they will not calmly submit if China is made the victim of the Conference. There is serious disaffection in the Chinese delegation and it has influenced the internal politics of China to such an extent that some of the Chinese cabinet members have already resigned.

It has been suggested that there will be a nine-power agreement and an Association of Nations formed as the result of the Conference. But will these things insure world peace? Will they further the cause of world peace? They will not bring world peace with justice and freedom, nor even the kind of world peace in which a group of strong powers hold in unwilling subjection the rest of the world. The net result of this Conference, if the Four-Power Pact goes through, will be a new alignment of powers. The proposed arrangement makes the British Empire the strongest power in the world, having American support, and also having the guarantee that none will challenge her position as the strongest naval power in the world, at least for the ten years of naval holiday. Ultimately the Anglo-American-French-Japanese Alliance will function as the Anglo-American Alliance with Japan and France as unwilling partners who have not much to say. This will revolutionize world politics. As an inevitable result Continental Europe will have to follow the advice of Count Witte, who declared that France, Germany and Russia will have to unite to resist Anglo-American domination of the world.

Japan will see that for the preservation of her economic safety and national independence, she should be on most friendly terms with China and Russia, her next door neighbors, so that there may not be a Russo-Chinese combination against her in the future. The real balance of power in world politics will then shift to that region of the world lying between Egypt and Hong-Kong, India forming the center. Thus, whether the Indian leaders like it or not, whether the Indian people see it or not, the future of the world will be in the hands of the newly awakened India. The Washington Conference has made this fact absolutely clear. Thus world peace does not really rest in the decisions

that are being made under the leadership of Mr. Hughes, whose dominant ideal is Anglo-American co-operation in world politics, but in Asia and particularly in India. Thus the responsibility of India and Mahatma Gandhi is greater than anything that can be conceived in the interest of world peace with justice and liberty for all nations. TARAKNATH DAS.

*Washington, D. C., Dec. 22, 1921.*

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## Praise from Sir Hubert

It is with more than ordinary pleasure that we hail the announcement in UNITY issue of November 3, 1921, informing its friends that soon we shall have a New and Greater UNITY. For many decades UNITY has stood out among weekly publications speaking for religion and in the interest of a liberal construction of religion's message and meaning, a valiant leader of thought and an undaunted prophet of the dawn of a better day when old dissensions and petty denominationalism shall no longer divide men who agree on fundamentals. As UNITY understood religion it was the strong voice pleading for character and fellowship preaching the one vital truth that He had made of one all nations of men. The bickerings of narrow dogmatists never met with sympathy in the columns of UNITY. Originally connected with the Unitarian fraternity, UNITY under the inspiration of Jenkin Lloyd Jones' splendid impatience threw off what restrictions and exclusions this association implied. It grew to be without mental reservations of any sort the spokesman for all humanities.

As such it was essentially Jones' organ and carried throughout the stamp of his masterful personality. Yet just because it was, I am tempted to say, the spiritual offspring of Jones' loins, it never degenerated into a mere mouthpiece of one man or one group of men. It stood and spoke for principles, never for party. Every problem of humanity's life was studied and presented in the light of the religion of freedom, fellowship and character. Long before pulpits had become hospitable to the new views on the Bible, to the philosophy of evolution, to the ethical insistences of the new economics, the profounder implications of democracy, UNITY sounded its gospel in which the final test was the human value of man. When Jones was gathered to his fathers, his mantle was worthily taken up by John Haynes Holmes and Francis Neilson. From Neilson's gifted pen UNITY has sent out a series of remarkable articles under the caption "Duty to Civilization" now reprinted as a separate pamphlet. For noble passion and fearless devotion to truth, these articles form as it were an oasis in the dreary desert of pre-war and post-war madness. They and another series in the *Freeman* under the title of the "Myth of a Guilty Nation," probably also by the author of "How Diplomats Make War," ought to appeal to all who believe that the true history of the war and its fateful causes is not to be found in the editorial columns of our great dailies. Had UNITY after the demise of Jones presented its friends and readers with this exposition alone and nothing more, it would have earned the right to be recognized as the true successor to that preacher of humanity whose name is the talismanic phrase of its consecration. Now, a group of men and women well known among the searchers for light and truth on things human have associated themselves with Dr. Holmes and Mr. Neilson in the editorial control of UNITY, and in this announcement they define the policy of their management to be loyalty to the noble tradition of UNITY, to bring to realization the splendid ideals to which its course has been directed from the beginning.

This is good news, indeed. It may well stouten the hearts of many who in these days of bitter disillusionment may have grown faint. We shall have a clear voice as we had when Jones was with us, for international good will and interdenominational understanding and co-operation. In the main, in the domain of practical religion, UNITY will be dedicated to propaganda for winning acceptance of the idea of the Community Church. A church dedicated to that religion which is service of humanity, to the tradition of freedom of speech in the pulpit and freedom of thought in the pew, to hospitality to all men and women ignoring distinction of race, nation and class.

The ideal fundamental to the Community Church will easily be recognized as identical with that basic to our own liberal Judaism as expressed in Sinai Congregation, as upheld not less earnestly in the *Reform-Advocate* but with much less power of mind and impressiveness of diction than in UNITY.

There are reasons and these not of petty nature, why the liberal Jew cannot consent to the dismantling of his Synagog. He would have that Synagog as broad and as hospitable as any Community Church may be. His doors have been open to all. His invitation has not been accepted. This fact alone is indicative of the sad fact that Judaism is even by the most liberal under suspicion. It is misunderstood. Therefore the liberal Jew feels it to be a duty incumbent upon him as the son of his parents to battle for the recognition due the bearers of the misjudged and willfully or otherwise misunderstood and despised name "Jew." To leave the persecuted when the old spirit of hate is again abroad in all lands, would be and is an act of moral cowardice. There is no opposition between the liberal Synagog and the Community Church. The liberal Synagog will gladly co-operate with the Community Church and UNITY to bring on the better day of a united humanity. This is the day of which our prophets visioned and for the coming of which the Synagog has always prayed and in the hope of which the Jew has found strength and consolation. "Thy kingdom come" is the Leitmotif of Israel's most solemn aspirations. It is the one unchangeable article of Israel's faith.

*The Reform-Advocate.* —*E. G. Hirsch.*

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### THE VISION MAKER.

To EUGENE VICTOR DEBS.

Christ-like he spoke. While angry cannon roared,
His vision tinged the torn and bleeding skies.
Men heard in him their own dumb anguished cries,
The heavens seemed to open at his word.
Give us a victim, shouted Cæsar's horde,
From his black pyre red warnings shall arise,
The vision perishes, the prophet dies. . . .
His truth is far more deadly than our sword!

And deadlier his dream—a quenchless flame,
For which no dungeon fastness can be built. . . .
You have but made the convict half divine,
Crowned him with martyrdom, yourselves with shame;
Not he, but you are branded deep with guilt;
His cell is holier than your highest shrine.

*N. Y. Call.* —*Ralph Chaplin.*

## THE FIELD.

*"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"*

## AN OPEN LETTER TO THE FRIENDS AND SUPPORTERS OF THE UNION OF DEMOCRATIC CONTROL IN THIS AND OTHER LANDS.

Orchard House, Great Smith Street,
London, S.W.1, November, 1921.

My Friends:

Seven years ago this month we founded the Union of Democratic Control.

Some of you will remember the difficulties we experienced in selecting the title which should exactly express our message and our purpose. But our decision was finally unanimous. *Democratic control*, the control by the democracy, *i. e.*, by the people—all the people—of the issues which determine the life, the happiness, the welfare of the people; that was the governing thought which inspired us. That was the goal towards which we urged our fellow-countrymen to direct their endeavors.

How great the need! With appalling suddenness, like the swift descent of a deadly meteor from summer skies, war had burst upon us. Repeatedly assured, down to a few weeks before the tragedy, that from the quarrels between the two rival groups of European Powers our country stood apart, free and untrammelled, the existence of obligations of honor contracted towards France had then been explicitly, and towards Russia implicitly, avowed. The two groups had come to grips, and our armies and our fleet were making common cause with the armies and the fleets of Republican France and Tsarist Russia. The lengthy and detailed preparations, diplomatic, naval, and military, for this prodigious reversal of British policy, for this epoch-making decision which would of necessity affect, in the profoundest degree, the future of the British State and of the British Empire, had been worked out without the knowledge of Parliament or people—without the knowledge, indeed, of the majority of the members of the Government itself. Some half a dozen ministers and ex-ministers; the Court, or perhaps it would be more accurate to say the late King; the heads of the military and naval establishments; one or two powerful ambassadors—had taken upon themselves to embark the national ship upon these waters of dreadful turbulence. A handful of influential journalists and a few great financiers were wholly or partly in the secret. The people had known nothing. During all these eight years of secret diplomatic, military, and naval preparations, the people had been kept wholly in the dark. The net had been drawn tighter and tighter, but no sight of the meshes had been vouchsafed them. They could not guard against the danger, for they knew it not. They could not act intelligently and nationally in favor of peace. They were drugged with the drug of falsehood. War they wanted not, suspected not its coming; and into war they had been plunged with the rapidity of lightning. Themselves utterly taken by surprise, it was easy to persuade them that their rulers had also been. How falsely, we now know.

In this betrayal of popular liberties, in this treachery to civic and national rights, we saw a permanent menace to the national security, the gravest of wrongs perpetrated against the people, and a call for immediate and prolonged effort. To free our generation and the generations to come from a system under which such perils could be run by the State, such injustice could be inflicted upon the people; to secure for the nation the constitutional right of directing the foreign policy of the nation; to secure "democratic control" over the branch of national government which matters most of all, since it is concerned with real politics, with the issues of peace and war, and therefore of life and death; to make a repetition of such experiences impossible—this we visualized as a service to be rendered to the State than which none could be more urgent or more vital.

But it was not the only service which we felt should be attempted.

Was this war, with its unprecedented toll upon the lives and resources of the nation, to end as most wars had ended by a pretended "settlement" which settled nothing, which left pre-existing grievances unremedied, injustices unredressed? Was it not to be feared, in view of the monstrous official propaganda of hate encouraged and subsidized in our country, as in the other belligerent countries, that the creation of new political and economic wrongs would turn even a military victory into a moral defeat, and that the peace when it came might be only the prelude to new and more disastrous upheavals? Could such a catastrophe be averted by the concerted intellectual effort of civilian minds applied to the political problems of the war, directed to concrete ends? Could our people be induced to realize the necessity of keeping a firm grip upon the *policy* of the war as distinct from the strategy of the war, which was the business of the soldiers?

We may, I think, take pride in recalling that, within a few weeks of the outbreak of war, we placed before our fellow-countrymen and the world the program of a constructive international settlement which has since become the program of democracy everywhere. This program aimed at ensuring a really lasting peace when the time came to make peace. The Union did not, of course, urge a stoppage of the war at that period. To have done so would have been puerile. What it said, in effect, to the country was this: "You are told that this war, so far as we are concerned, is a people's war. That is true, for never has a Government demanded such sacrifices of our people. Very well—then see to it that the peace which closes the war should be a people's peace, and not a diplomat's and militarist's peace. Insist upon a peace which shall establish a new order of international relationships, a peace which shall in itself be an insurance against future war by removing the main political and economic causes of war, by making it impossible henceforth for war to steal upon the people like a thief in the night, by creating an international mechanism for the adjustment and handling of international disputes before they have reached an acute and inflammable stage. Don't be put off with the usual claptrap about 'this not being the time.' The time for the nation to consider the political problems of the war began when the first shot was fired. The nation has been thrust without its knowledge into the closest of partnerships with imperial Russia and with France. *Where is this partnership going to lead the nation? Is British policy to be formed by Britain's allies or by Britain herself?* It is the manifest duty of the civilian population to apply its brains to the new and tremendous issues which lie ahead. It is its manifest duty to the men in the trenches, first and foremost. They are suffering and dying. They will have suffered and died in vain if the mass of the nation disinterests itself from the political purposes of the struggle. This war will result either in the destruction of war as a recognized human institution, or in the destruction of human life and economic resources on an unprecedented scale, with an actual decrease of national and international security at the end of it. The political foresight, the political action of our people, or the lack of both, will deeply, perhaps decisively, affect the issue."

Open diplomacy; democratic control of foreign policy; no secret treaties; no transference of territorial sovereignty in disputed areas without the consent of the inhabitants; creation of an international mechanism for the adjustment of international differences, as a substitute for the policy of the balance of power and separate alliances; drastic reduction of armaments; the promotion of free commercial intercourse and the extension of the principle of equal economic facilities among the nations. That was our creed. As Trevelyan says[1]:—

> *"They were the first statement of the principles which have now become the accepted doctrine of the democracies.* They cover all the policy proclaimed two years and a half later by President Wilson in his fourteen points. They state the leading factors of the policy eventually adopted by the British Labor Party. They represent the terms of the settlement which ought to have been arrived at to conclude the war. *It is the failure to adopt them which has condemned the world to a new era of unrest and armaments.* And it was this policy which the Union of Democratic Control proclaimed within two months of the commencement of the war."

What a different world to-day had our policy been adopted! What a different Britain!

And there is no need to remind you, my Friends, that among those who are the loudest to-day in their condemnation of the opposite policy as embodied in the Versailles Treaty, men are to be found who, nevertheless, violently denounced the Union's action in striving to create thus early, and in the years which followed, a public opinion which, had it been strong enough to impose its will upon the Government, would have altered history. Those men perceive, a little late in the day, alas! that there is no finality in military victory, and that "Prussian militarism" was not the only militarism in Europe, nor even, perhaps, the most dangerous form of that generally distributed disease of the nations.

To rouse the nation to a sense of its helplessness to determine in any true sense the national destiny while the management of its foreign policy escapes its

[1] "The Union of Democratic Control: Its History and Its Policy." (U.D.C. Price 6d.)

control; to urge upon the civilian portion of the population, while the war lasted, the need of focussing the national will upon a *political* policy in the war, which could alone obtain for the nation what the soldiers were going through unspeakable hardships to obtain for it—that was what the Union sought to do and labored unceasingly to bring about.

Will any sensible man maintain to-day that our action was not well inspired?

With the jingo and imperialist mind we were, of course, in open conflict. We differed from the Liberal idealists of the pen (the Wells's, the Chestertons, the Gardiners, the Begbies, the Massinghams, the Arnold Bennetts, the C. P. Scotts) in this—that they saw in "Prussian militarism" the only obstacle to a new and decent world; in the overthrow of the German war machine the salvation of mankind. As they had believed until the very last pre-war hours that our hands were free, so they had clothed the war when it broke out with an idealism which was utterly foreign to its origin and purpose. A "holy war" they said; an essential conflict between right and wrong; between the opposing principles of autocracy and democracy (and ourselves fighting with the armies of the Tsar!); between the "tramping, drilling foolery in the heart of Europe" and the peaceful instincts of civilization; between the "tyranny which held the German people in a vice" and a liberal-minded world; between "barbarism" and enlightenment; "utopia" or "hell." With some troubled periods of doubt, they clung to that general belief throughout the war. It tided them over the rejection of all the attempts to end the slaughter by negotiation. It resisted the publication of the secret treaties. It resisted the terms of the Armistice; the prolongation of the blockade during the Armistice. The Versailles Treaty almost shattered it; if I am not in error, events subsequent to the treaty have finally done so.

Far be it from me to reproach them for their faith. I am recalling here that we did not share it, and why we did not. Some of them did not, shall I say, err in generosity towards us during the war. But what prevents a common front to-day? For the forces which brought their faith to naught are in the saddle, and events have, after all, proved us right. Can they not forgive us that?

My Friends, when we look back upon the work we have tried to do for our country and for the world in these last seven years we can never, it is true, feel wholly satisfied that we attained the maximum of possible effort; but we can claim, I venture to assert, that the lead we have given throughout has been sound. We can say with truth: "Had the country listened to us, the country would not be in the parlous straits in which it finds itself to-day."

The past cannot be recalled. On the other hand, the past holds the present and the future in its grip. It influences, in a great measure it governs, our present and future necessities.

It is with those necessities I now wish to deal.

Our country was started blindfolded on a wrong road when Mr. Balfour and Lord Lansdowne signed at Clouds, in the Easter of 1904, a document which not only settled outstanding differences with France (a matter for unfeigned rejoicing), but which secretly committed us to the support of jingo and imperialist France in a predatory and internationally illegal policy of conquest and absorption in Morocco. The country was thrust a long way further upon that disastrous road when Lord (then Sir Edward) Grey and Lord (then Mr.) Haldane took upon themselves, at Berwick, in January, 1906, without consulting their colleagues, let alone Parliament or the country, to authorize the General Staff to collaborate with the French in common preparations for war with Germany. The nation followed that road for eight years without knowing it. It led us to a position, in Lord Loreburn's striking phrase, which "left the peace of Great Britain at the mercy of the Russian Court," and as the Russian Court must risk war or perish, the road took us to Armageddon, "not as principals in any quarrel of our own, but as accessories in the third degree."[2]

Our people went through Armageddon. They helped to destroy the German military machine, only to raise up a French military machine *infinitely more formidable than was the German in* 1914. Belgium (Walloon, i. e., governing Belgium, at least), on whose behalf the majority of our people still believe we went to war (so efficient has been the official propaganda of lies by which the national intellect has been stampeded), has become merely a political and military *annexe* of the French Republic. Our people have, with their own hands, helped to elaborate an economic and political mechanism in Central Europe—in the Versailles and accessory treaties—which has half ruined their trade and industry, and which will, if maintained, complete that ruin. Their Russian partner in Armageddon—Tsardom—has disappeared in blood and flames, and the insanity of their rulers has made of the Russian people their bitter potential foes. The upshot is that our country—*as the result of the foreign policy its rulers have followed since* 1904, *but especially since* 1906—is worse off economically than it has been for a century, *and is less secure strategically than at any period in its history since the days of Elizabeth.* It has sacrificed a million men; it has incurred a debt of six thousand millions; and it has acquired no compensating advantages whatever. The speculation has been a dead loss. But the gamblers are still keeping on with it in the hope that the shares may rise again. They won't. They will go on falling—and the nation with them. The speculation must be abandoned. The policy must be changed. How shall it be changed?

Our Union placed a constructive policy before the country in November, 1914, and urged it upon the country during the whole war period. It was a great moral triumph for the Union when President Wilson came forward with a program which enunciated both the principles, and the application of them to the problems of the war, which we had been advocating for nearly four years. But Woodrow Wilson was not "the lord of his event." He might have acquired from external influences the strength to have become so if the democracies of the world—our own particularly—had been more vocal in their support. But the machinery for stoking up the fires of passion and revenge was working full time. The political leaders of Liberalism stood for the most part coldly aloof. Among the Parliamentary leaders of Labor there were not a few ready to outbid the Northcliffe Press. They shouted as loudly as the brothers Geddes. They, too, wanted to squeeze Germany until they "heard the pips squeak." They may not have heard the moans of dying German women and children starved to death by the blockade. They failed to understand that, in the process of crushing Germany, they would burst the national ribs. We told them, you remember, but they would not listen.

Well, my Friends, let us take a broad survey of the situation with which the nation is faced to-day and consider an alternative policy to the one which is conducting the nation to perdition.

First let us be clear on one point. The "Entente" is dead. It contained (as some of us said at the time) the seeds of dissolution from the moment that Grey, Haldane, Paul Cambon, and the militarists on both sides of the Channel converted it from an instrument of peace into an instrument of war. It could not survive a war waged in common, arising out of obligations contracted behind the backs of the British people, and justified to the British and French people by a carefully staged exhibition of lying unparalleled in history. There *was* a plot to make war inevitable. But it was not hatched in Berlin. In Berlin there was folly and fear, arrogance and ignorance. But the *plot* was hatched in Petrograd, Paris, and Belgrade. But for the concealment of facts from the British people by British ministers, it could never have matured. The "Entente" could not survive a terrible war waged in common on the basis of an historical falsehood and leading, *because of that initial falsehood,* to a peace of revenge and furious folly. The seeds of dissolution sown at the Foreign Office in 1906 brought forth the inevitable harvest when Lloyd George and Clemenceau signed the so-called "treaty" of Versailles.

The "Entente," then, is dead. Like the Anglo-Japanese alliance it has served the purpose of those who used it for the ends they had in view. The France of M. Briand has told us so by making a separate arrangement with Germany over reparations; by concluding a distinctly anti-British (anti-British imperialism, be it understood) treaty with the Turks; and by flouting us openly at Washington. To pretend that the "Entente" is still alive is the very worst possible policy. Frankly, if the pretence is kept up, the rupture will be sudden, violent, and, short of a revolution in France, we shall be at war with our former allies before we are many years older—I say "years" because I do not wish to take an alarmist view. But if we are really going in for the conquest of Ireland, it might be well to write down months instead of years. And, let us make no mistake about it, we are in far graver danger from the France of 1921 if she runs amok than we were from the Germany of 1914. Some of our friends think that France can now be regarded as a second-rate power; that, essentially, she is down and out. They never made a greater mistake in their lives.

Let our Government, then, resume its entire freedom of action in foreign policy *as the French have done. (Can it do so, or is it bound by secret agree-*

[2] "How the War Came," by Lord Loreburn.

*ments of which the British people, again, know nothing?*) And let the democratic forces in France and Britain come together to prevent the madness and the fears of French jingoism from perpetrating the irreparable. . . .

For the rest, in the matter of armaments and European policy it is—I think you will agree—primarily for French democracy to act. There is understanding of the French position among all sections of the British community; sympathetic understanding. But that understanding is of use to France only in so far as it is intelligent, discerning, and honest. If we say: "France has been invaded twice in fifty years, therefore France fears; therefore we must blindly support France in her present policy"—then we do not help France, we are not honest with France. *For we cannot support present French policy towards Germany and Russia, towards Germany in particular, without deeply injuring ourselves,* even had France been invaded twenty times.

It is true that France has been invaded twice in the last fifty years. *How many times had Germany been invaded by French armies in the preceding hundred and fifty years!* That is the other side of the shield. It is childish to ignore it. Are the bowels of successive generations of Britons to be periodically torn out because of this interminable quarrel?

*(To be continued.)*


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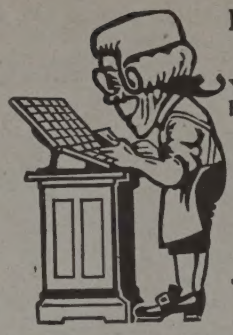
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